

SENSITIVE

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SITUATION(S) MESSAGE(S) LISTING

DATE 06/20/74//171

SITUATION: HAK TRIP
 SUBJECT CATEGORY: TOSEC

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

O 132012Z JUN 74 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO NIACT IMMEDIATE 7720

UNCLAS STATE 126030

TOSEC 156

E.O. 11652; N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

PLEASE PASS FULL TEXT TO LES JANKA

1. HERewith FULL TEXT WALL STREET JOURNAL EDITORIAL,
 THURSDAY, JUNE 13, HEADLINED, "MR. KISSINGER FIGHTS BACK".

2. ABOUT THE SAME TIME HENRY KISSINGER WAS HOLDING A PRESS
 CONFERENCE IN SALZBURG AND THREATENING TO RESIGN, FORMER
 WATERGATE PROSECUTOR ARCHIBALD COX WAS SPEAKING TO THE HAR-
 VARD CHAPTER OF PHI BETA KAPPA, WARNING THAT SOME OF THE
 LEAKS OF WATERGATE MATERIAL SMACK OF THE TACTICS USED BY
 SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY IN THE 1950'S.

3. WE WERE STRUCK BY THE COUNTERPOINT, AND PARTICULARLY
 SO IN THE CONTEXT OF ONE WIDESPREAD REACTION TO MR.
 KISSINGER'S THREAT--THAT HE WAS OVERREACTING, THAT HE WAS
 TIRED, EVEN THAT HE WAS PETULANT OVER THE LACK
 OF CELEBRATION OF HIS MIDDLE EASTERN EXPLOITS. WE THINK
 THE MATTER HAS AN IMPORTANCE TRANSCENDING ANY ONE PERSONALIT-
 Y, AND THAT MR. KISSINGER'S INSTINCT WAS RIGHT; THE
 CHARGES AGAINST HIM DESERVED A SERIOUS AND EVEN EXTRAORDINARY
 REACTION.

4. THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, WHICH HAS
 ALREADY BEEN OVER THE EVIDENCE ONCE, IS NOW REVIEWING THE

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QUESTION OF HOW DEEPLY MR. KISSINGER WAS INVOLVED IN WIRE-TAPPING IN 1969 AND 1970, AND IN PARTICULAR WHETHER HIS TESTIMONY BEFORE THE COMMITTEE WAS ACCURATE. WE DO NOT PRETEND TO KNOW THE DEFINITIVE TRUTH. PERHAPS PROFESSOR KISSINGER CONCOCTED THE WHOLE PLOT AND FORCED IT DOWN THE THROAT OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, JOHN EHRLICHMAN AND OTHER SQUEAMISH TYPES. BUT SOMEHOW WE DOUBT IT.

5. IT SEEMS TO US MORE PLAUSIBLE THAT THE OPERATION AROSE MUCH THE WAY MR. KISSINGER TESTIFIED. HE ADMITTED, AFTER ALL, THAT HIS CONCERN OVER SECURITY LEAKS WAS AN IMPORTANT INPUT INTO THE DECISION, AND THAT HE AND HIS STAFF PROVIDED THE NAMES OF SOME OF THOSE TAPPED. GIVEN THIS, WE HAVE TROUBLE UNDERSTANDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DEBATE OVER WHAT SEEMS TO BE A QUESTION OF THE PRECISE POINT IN THIS ONGOING PROGRAM ANY ONE TAP COULD BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE BEEN "INITIATED."

6. HUMAN NATURE BEING WHAT IT IS, WE ASSUME THAT MR. KISSINGER'S ACCOUNT, AND FOR THAT MATTER MR. KISSINGER'S MEMORY, PAINTS HIS OWN ROLE IN THE BEST POSSIBLE LIGHT. SIMILARLY, WE WOULD EXPECT THAT OTHER AGENCIES AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN THE WIRETAPPING PROGRAM WOULD BE PROTECTING THEIR FLANKS, TRYING TO DIFFUSE RESPONSIBILITY AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE. THERE WOULD BE ANY NUMBER OF WAYS PRESIDENT NIXON COULD COME TO BELIEVE MR. KISSINGER ASKED FOR WIRETAPS, OR THAT MR. KISSINGER'S NAME COULD APPEAR AS THE INITIATOR IN AN FBI DOCUMENT. PERHAPS THE DOCUMENT HAS AN "INITIATOR" BLANK THAT NEEDS TO BE FILLED IN. NO SINGLE PIECE OF EVIDENCE IS LIKELY TO BE CONCLUSIVE.

7. SO YOU HAVE CONFLICTING ACCOUNTS AND CONFLICTING MEMORIES ABOUT WHAT ALMOST CERTAINLY WAS EVEN AT THE TIME AN AMBIGUOUS COURSE OF EVENTS. ASSUMING THAT THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER RUNS SOMETHING ALONG THIS LINE, IT IS THE PERFECT RAW MATERIAL FOR THE KIND OF PROCESS THAT DISTURBS MR. COX. FOR AT THE MOMENT WE ARE IN THE GRIP OF AN ALCHEMY THAT SEIZES ON ANY AVAILABLE AMBIGUITY AND PRESENTS IT IN THE WORST POSSIBLE LIGHT. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE A SEMANTIC ARGUMENT CAN EASILY BECOME AN ACCUSATION OF PERJURY.

8. THE ALCHEMY OF COURSE ARISES FROM THE CLIMATE OF THE MOMENT. EVERYONE NATURALLY INTERPRETS NEW EVENTS IN THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE, AND OUR RECENT EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN WATERGATE. SO A CONGRESSMAN READING THE DOCUMENTS, OR A

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REPORTER WRITING ABOUT THEM, SEES THE AVAILABLE MATERIAL IN THIS CONTEXT, APPLYING TO IT UNCONSCIOUS STEREOTYPES EVOLVED FROM A RECORD OF OFFICIAL DISSEMBLING. THE APPLICATION OF SUCH STEREOTYPES OFTEN HIGHLIGHTS AN IMPORTANT PART OF REALITY, BUT TYPICALLY AT THE COST OF OBSCURING MUCH ELSE THAT IS ALSO TRUE. AN ARTIFICIAL ORDER IS IMPOSED ON AN UNORDERED REALITY.

9. WHEN THE STEREOTYPE OF DUPLICITY IS APPLIED TO HIGH OFFICIALS IT HIGH-LIGHTS SOME TRUTH, BUT IT ALSO HAS AN ESPECIALLY DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL. FOR THE VERY PURPOSE OF HIGH OFFICIALS IS TO DEAL WITH QUESTIONS THAT ARE BOTH WEIGHTY AND AMBIVALENT. EVEN IF MIRACULOUSLY THERE WERE NO MISTAKES, THERE WILL ALWAYS BE AMBIGUITIES THAT CAN FIT THE THEME OF DISHONESTY. THE STEREOTYPE CAN EASILY ACQUIRE AN EXISTENCE OF ITS OWN, SOONER OR LATER CARRYING US BEYOND REALITY AND OBSCURING MORE THAN IT REVEALS.

10. ADMITTEDLY IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL PRECISELY WHERE REALITY DOES END, AND PERHAPS THE CHARGES AGAINST MR. KISSINGER DO DESERVE MORE EXPLORATION. BUT OF THIS WE ARE QUITE SURE: AT SOME POINT A CORRECTIVE WILL BE NECESSARY, AND THIS CANNOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL SOMEONE LIKE MR. KISSINGER STARTS TO FIGHT BACK. (END TEXT) SISCO

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